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MEMOIRS

Concerning the

LIFE and MANNERS

OF

Captain *Mackheath*.

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M. E. M. O. I. R. S.

Concerning the

LIFE and ADVENTURES



OF

Captain Mackintosh.

MEMOIRS

Concerning the

Life and Manners

O F

Captain MACKHEATH. K



ὉΥΤΟΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ.

ANON.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *A. Moore* near *St. Paul's*.
M.DCC.XXVIII.

MEMOIRS

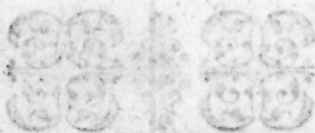
W. Musgrave.

Life and Manners



OF

Captain Mackintosh.



Printed by

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LONDON:

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PROEM.

IT is apparently the Duty of every Man, who takes upon him to deliver down to Posterity, any Part of the History of the Men or Times in which He writes, to take care that his Heart be altogether pure and disengaged from Passion and Prejudice, otherwise he will not have it in his Power, to make use of a noble Author's Motto, *Not to dare to conceal a Truth, or to publish a Falshood*. His Mind therefore ought to be wholly dispassionate and loose of all kinds of Byas and Inequality. I set out with no personal Prejudice against Captain *Mackheath*, he has never taken

a Shilling from me or mine upon the Road; but as he has robb'd many whom I know, and goes on still publickly to plunder, I rather *Advertise* than Write against him; and I hope the Captain, when he thinks coolly on this Head, will not asperse me as a Libeller, or call this my Publick Spiritedness, Malevolence. I hope I shall have Courage enough to bind my self down to the Rules of Candour and Truth in the following *Memoirs*. I shall confine my self not to talk against the Man, but his Crimes; and therefore I shall not, according to the Custom of Biographers, set down the minuter Circumstances of this Gentleman's Birth and Education, as I think the Obloquy of his evil Actions, or the Merit of his good ones, should rather rest on himself than on those who brought him into the World, or were concern'd in the Education of him afterwards: and because nothing is so frequent as for bad Men to degenerate from their Blood and Principles.

ciples. What principally determined me to publish these *Memoirs*, was, an honest Inclination I had to undeceive my Fellow-Citizens, before whom he has been lately set upon the publick Stage as a Character of Heroism, if not of Virtue. The Dramatick Writer has indeed dress'd him out to Advantage, he stands erect the first Piece in the Canvas, and has gained much popular Applause; he has made him the Lover and the Warrior, he is the Darling of the Fair, and the Glory of the thievish Heroes who surround him: He is a perfect, polite, modern fine Gentleman, and *Dorimant* in *Sir Fopling*; tho a Person of equal Morals, is not a more accomplish'd Rake. He commits his Robberies with an Air of Authority and Gallantry, the common People mistake his Vices for Virtues; and those who are not in his Gang, applaud him.

IT is the Purpose of this little Treatise, if my poor Endeavours may be

be bless'd with Success, to check this popular Applause so injurious to the Publick; nor am I the first who have taken the Alarm: our Reverend Guides and Spiritual Directors *have cry'd aloud and spar'd not*; they likewise have publish'd the Dangers which visibly threaten our Morals, when the People are us'd to behold a notorious Robber set up thus in a Point of Light, where all the Horrors of his Trade, where the dark Lanthorn, the Pistol, the Dagger, and the Ruin and Spoil of the Poor are concealed; he appears upon the Stage, not only surrounded with Pleasures and Glory, but even with Power, at the Head of a well arm'd and a vicious Crew, and is at last repriev'd by the Poet, even from the imaginary Punishment. When therefore a Person really Infamous, and an Instrument of much Evil to his Country, shall receive so much Encouragement and Applause from the People, and from those who are accounted of the better Sort too; for
many

many such are to be found among his Admirers. It is worthy our Labour to look back a little, and to enquire into the Reason of the present Degeneracy of our Morals: Let us see then how, and by what Degrees, a brave, a great, and a generous People became so corrupt, to be capable to look on and laugh at Fraud and Rapine, and to mistake a Highwayman, for a Heroe.



B CHAP.

C H A P. I.

AFTER the Death of King *William*, of immortal Memory, and that long and expensive War that succeeded in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, when we were deliver'd from the Fears of becoming Slaves to *Lewis XIV*; when his Scheme of Universal Monarchy was broke by our Arms: The People, who had with most incredible Labour and Patience, and at a most prodigious Expence of Blood and Treasure, suffered all the Fatigues of a long and honourable War in the Defence of their Religion and Liberties; no sooner felt the Warmth of Repose, and the Indulgence of Peace, but they gave themselves wholly up to it, and began now to think of nothing so much as Wealth and Ease. First, there arose among us a general and uncommon Desire of Money, and after this an extraordinary

nary Appetite for Power; the two great Fundamentals of every Evil. Avarice immediately overthrew all Probity, and Trust, and mutual Confidence; and in consequence, every ingenious and praise-worthy-Art shared the same Fate: and, in their stead Pride, Ambition, Inhumanity, and venal and mercenary Desires of all Kinds took Place: Friendships and Enmities were now made as Interest only directed. It was thought Praise-worthy to deceive your Neighbour, and he who had more Fraud, was deemed to have more Understanding than his Fellow-Citizen. This insatiable Thirst after Power and Wealth became now contagious, and invaded the City like a Pestilence: every one may remember in what Manner the chief Magistrate and the Senate were drawn in to indulge the Madness of these avaritious Men. I should have pass'd in silence, that *fatal and destructive Scheme* that let Men loose upon one another; and I beg leave only to mention it now,

to mark the Origin of this great Folly, and to shew that after this the People never recover'd their Integrity. After this extraordinary Change of Property, Virtue seem'd to become Vice, and Vice, Virtue; and all Men inclin'd to think, that if they had Wealth, they had a Right to every thing; therefore that, and that alone, became the general Study: and this Poison having thus mixed with the Blood and Spirits of the People, they became weak and enervate: the Desires of Mankind after Wealth being insatiable, were not to be diminish'd either by Want or Abundance. After this follow'd Rapine, Injustice, a general Dissolution of Morals; and in each Man was found a Desire after the Goods of his Neighbour, and the Rich oppress'd the Poor without Modesty or Moderation. Perhaps too, this Remissness in the Manners of the People, might at this time receive Encouragement and Example from their Superiors, whom they beheld rioting in all manner

ner of Wealth and Luxury: and those of the middle Rank finding themselves raised to great imaginary Wealth, copy'd those above them as far as they were able; like their Superiors, they came at once into the Expences of Women, Pictures, Jewels, rich Furniture, and magnificent Villas; costly Wines, and the dearest Excitements to vicious Palates were purchased from every Country: In a word, they fell into every thing that could indulge the most luxurious Inclination.

ABOUT this time, Honour and Wealth became Terms of the same Signification; and accordingly, Glory, Government, Power, were only to be found with the Rich: Virtue hung its Head, Poverty was every where accounted criminal; and the Man, whose Morals and Conduct in this corrupt Multitude were unblameable, was shunned and look'd upon with Malevolence by his Fellow-Citizens. Wealth, as I have said, did not only produce
Luxury,

Luxury, but tainted the Morals of our Youth with Avarice and Pride, Rapine and Waste: At the same time, a Profusion of their own Property, and a Desire after that of others, there was a general Neglect of all manner of Probity, Moderation, Humanity; nor had they the least Regard for Things Human or Divine. Enfeebled thus by Luxury, an unaccountable Suspiciousness seem'd to have taken Possession of the Minds of many of the People; and those whose Spirits were enough awake, busy'd themselves in doing mutual Wrongs; so that at this time, having the Power to do Wrong, and doing Wrong were inseparable, each Man fancy'd himself in Possession of Millions: Accordingly the Foundations of costly Palaces were laid, they rais'd themselves to the most visionary Heights, and the lowest of the Vulgar were purchasing Titles in Heraldry, and fixing Nobility to their Names. The Appetites of Hunger and Thirst were anticipated, and Luxury prevented every
 Call

Call of Nature : In this Situation, those among our Youth who were unsuccessful at the publick Gaming-Table, and yet lived in the Profusion of those who succeeded, were reduced to Poverty, and by Poverty incited to attempt every thing to supply the Necessities of Luxury. When the Mind is thus rainted, it is not easily recover'd to Virtue.



CHAP.

C H A P. II.

IN so great and so corrupt a City, as I have described, Captain *Mackbeath*, as well as many other Gentlemen, at the same time, dissipated both his Morals and his Fortune. He saw the Spoilers of the People in quiet Possession of their ill-gotten Treasures, and look'd upon them as so many Civil Pirates, who prey'd upon their Fellow-Creatures under the Sanction of a Law. He often declared in his dissolute and immoral way of uttering his Thoughts, that he contemn'd those Laws, and that Society, who could only punish those who broke the Laws, not those who *broke thro'* them; and by virtue of which, the Poor had very little Protection against the Oppressions of the Rich: Laws, said he, that serve only to feed fat their numerous, and never to be satisfy'd

fy'd Professors: He saw no Reason why Property should be so unfairly distributed, and this unequal Division of the Goods of Nature seem'd to him like the over-weening Partiality of a fond Mother who lov'd her worst Children best; that these Considerations had determin'd him to excommunicate himself, to leap the Pale of the Society, to run wild again, and remit himself to the Original State where all Men had a Right to all Things; and this Way of Proceeding, he flatter'd himself was Honourable and Just; And he declar'd, if he should be taken by any of the Society, from whence he had excluded himself, he should only look upon himself as conquer'd by an Enemy; he accounted his Robberies only so many Acts of Hostility, and confess'd the Conqueror had a Right to use the Conquer'd as he thought fit. But this Project of running wild soon vanish'd, and made way for what he conceiv'd to be much more commode and natural. He began to ima-

C

gine,

gine, very unjustly, as Men who suffer their Reason to stray are soon lost, that not only the whole Community, but any Part of it, had a Right to dissolve it self and to erect another; and to form such Regulations or Laws for the Society as they should think proper. Here he thought fit to fix, and having contracted an Intimacy in these Times with several dissolute and undone Persons, much in the same Circumstances with himself, he gather'd together a large and formidable Body; or rather their common Wants associated them as Creatures of the same Kind. Some were under Contracts they were never able to satisfy; others, who had thrown away their Patrimonies at the Public, or at private Gaming-Tables; and many who had consumed their Fortunes in Riot, and were unable to stand the Attack of their lawful Creditors: and besides these, there were some who had already enter'd themselves in Felonies, and in Wickedness almost of every Kind; these

these were his Familiars, not his Intimates; for we must observe, the Captain chose those only to be nearest to him, and in his Council and Confidence, who were Men of weak Understandings; or if his Confidents had Abilities, they were always Men who could be credited no where else, and whose Morals were not to be depended upon even in a Confederacy of Thieves.

AS I am now to draw the Character of the Captain, and to give my Reader a View of his Person, before I publish his Actions; I beg leave to observe, that this Gentleman has been extremely misrepresented by the Author of the *Beggars Opera*; he has indeed taken, I think, too great a Poetical License: for since he descended to draw a living Highway-man, a Highway-man of the present Age, for such he is; however the Vulgar, by the Poet's imperfect Draught of him, may mistake him, he ought to

have confin'd himself a little more strictly to Truth. Very few of the Captain's Irregularities with the Fair Sex have ever come to my Knowledge: or if he has had any criminal Amours, I never heard him charg'd with Perfidy to a Woman; and *Betty Flareit*, with whom the Captain has sometimes deign'd to amuse himself, and while away an idle Hour or two, has often declar'd he was a very innocent Lover. Neither would the Captain's Constitution at all bear any sort of Debauch in Brandy, or strong Spirits: So that here again the Dramatist has wrong'd him, to make way for a drunken Sonnet or two at his going off,

LET us now see what Figure the Captain will make as he really is, without the Flourishes of a Poetical Pen.

THE Captain descended from an antient and virtuous Family in the
North

North of *Ireland*, or as others will have it, in the North-West of *England*. In his Youth, he discover'd an uncommon Vigour of Mind and Body; and which, if rightly apply'd, might have been of Service to his Country; but his Understanding, and his Person, as he grew in years, became obtuse, and were rather Clumfy than Athletick: he understood the Art of Wheedling perfectly well; he knew to apply to the general Passion of Mankind, and gain'd much by giving much away. Indeed, after he had made himself Master of this new Band of Pirates, he became by frequent Excursions Master of great Wealth; but even then, his Intemperance in acquiring it, could be equall'd by nothing but his Intemperance in consuming it; and he was the Bubble of every Projector, Painter, Toyman, Architect, and Virtuoso in *Europe*: Nothing fills this Part of his Character, but the *Rapti Largitor* of *Tacitus*. He had a laughable, frank, pleasant Manner among his Acquaintance

Acquaintance and Dependents, an easy and flowing Utterance, and delighted to colour his bad Designs and pernicious Projects with plausible Pretences.

WHEN he was at any time publicly attack'd, or charg'd with Partiality, or Corruption, he took Flame immediately; he became in an Instant passionate and disconcerted, violent and jealous; and then, and then only, it manifestly appear'd, that the two chief Ingredients in the Captain's Composition were Arrogance and Avarice. I have heard the Captain's Courage disputed, and it has been reported that he has sometimes been bashful in Action; but this I take to be a malevolent Aspersion only, since he has pushed on now for many Years, and committed several notorious Depredations with eminent Success. If he has had the Art to cover himself from the Punishment of the Civil Magistrate; if by Craft, or by Corruption, he has at any time got so far into the Fa-
vour

vour of the several Headboroughs, Constables, Beadles, Goalers, and other the little *Satellites* of the Civil Power, to skreen himself and his Followers from the Hand of Justice, I think no Imputation ought to fall upon the Captain's Courage on this Account; we ought rather to consider him as a wise General, who never trusts any thing to Fortune that he can possibly avoid, and always parries with his Wisdom, the ill Effects of his Temerity.



C H A P.

C H A P. III.

IT will not, I think, for several Reasons, be necessary in this Place, to give a particular List of the Names of those Persons who were concern'd with the Captain, in many of his enormities: first, I do not find in my self any manner of Inclination to turn Evidence, as I fancy my self above the Temptation of the Reward offer'd by Law for such Services; and am unwilling, whatever Affection I may have for the Publick, to oblige it at the Expence of my own Character; for in this Age, the Person who attempts to mark those whose Actions are apparently detrimental to the Society; such as Smuglers, Owlers, Sharpers, Bamboublers, Bites, Runners and Thieves of every Denomination, not only goes into an apparent Hazard of suffering in
his

his Person, but likewise of personal Abuse and Scandal; and I question, whether I my self shall have any Thanks from some Men for these my officious Memoirs: but the Consciousness of discharging my Duty outweighs every other Consideration. Besides, these daring Offenders, and their Dependents and Relations, are very numerous; and therefore likewise a Man ought to be very cautious how, or in what manner he declares himself their Enemy. These People too, who are not only very mischievous, but very artful, have got a Trick of crying *Thieves* at the same time with you; and always endeavour by the Confusion and the Bustle they make, to change Persons and Characters with their Accusers. There is yet another and more forcible Reason than any of the former, why I do not think it proper to name several Persons actually concern'd with the Captain: I hope some of them may amend their Lives, and become good Citizens and

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Subjects

Subjects again. I my self, have heard of others, who are now ready and willing to reform their Errors; and having fully repair'd, by their Alliance with the Captain, their shatter'd Fortunes, would return to the Society, if they might be assur'd of Indemnity for what is past, and Freedom from all Resumption and Restitution; two Circumstances as necessary to preserve their Integrity when they take it up again, as their Engagements with the Captain were to re-establish their Fortunes before. But I know not how it is, now the Captain is at their Head, he maintains himself there with great Authority; he has the whole Body intirely under the Menage.

I HAVE known some, who from Reason and Conviction, have been utterly asham'd of their Conduct; and who have enter'd into a Resolution, whatever became of themselves, to deliver up this great Offender into the Hands of Justice: Yet when the Captain has

has at this time accidentally fallen in their way, I have seen them in half an Hour after return with pleased, and satisfy'd Faces, and determin'd absolutely to proceed in the same Measures; so Insinuating hath been his Discourse, so weighty his Arguments. This iniquitous Society is indeed now so establish'd, that it is thought among them to be difficult, dishonourable, dangerous, ungrateful, and even unjust to quit him; tho the Captain sometimes in the Wantonness of his Pride, and to shew his Power, commands them to perform Offices very mean and unmanly: yet tho every one blames his Conduct, not one of them dares to dispute his Authority.

HERE we may observe, how necessary it is for every Man who would preserve his Fame, or his Virtue, to avoid all sorts of Commerce with Dishonour, lest he should find himself, even before he is aware, invol-

ved and intangled in a Labyrinth of Villany: From which, whatever Detestation he may have of it, he will find it difficult to disengage himself.

THE Captain thus establish'd, and firmly confiding in this League of Interest, went on in his Enterprizes from Day to Day with Bravery and Success: And tho' among his Followers, most of them were encouraged to abide by him only in the Hope of a faithful Dividend of the Booty; yet some there were so wretchedly poor in Spirit, who obey'd him out of, I know not what Desire, of a poor Dominion or Command under him; provoked by no other Want, stimulated by no other Necessity, and among whom, none of the Plunder was ever shar'd.

THE Society, in the great Confidence they had in their Captain, unani-

unanimously made him their Cashier, and intrusted the just and equal Distribution of all the Booty to his Care and Fidelity, and received their several Shares from time to time from his hands only. They had indeed taken care for a Resource against Accidents, as they were all Soldiers of Fortune, in this manner : They purchased a strong Iron-Chest, with a Slit on the Top, into which every Man was obliged to drop every Day a certain Proportion of the Booty of that Day, if it amounted to more than the Day's Expence ; and this was to be esteemed a sacred Deposit never to be touch'd but on the most important Occasions : Such as to provide for any of the Members in Sickness, to bribe a Jury, to take off an Evidence, and to prevent a Conviction, to pay a Lawyer, or a Goal-er's Fees, or to support a Member in Prison, until he should be deliver'd by due Course of Law. The Key of this Chest was never to be produc'd,

produc'd, it was never to be open'd, but on some or one of these Occasions. How it happen'd, I am not inform'd; but there was a general Rumour, that the Captain had not observ'd this Law, but had embezzled some Part of this sacred Deposit, which had like to have bred much ill Blood.

THIS Society had, by the Captain's wife Management, neglected nothing that was thought necessary for its Security.

IT had been frequently cemented with Oaths, as well as every other Obligation, which bad as well as good Men think necessary to bind one another; for without Faith, or the Appearance of it, no Society of any Kind can subsist. Among the rest of the Captain's Abilities, and which he valued himself most upon as necessary to keep his People together, was what he called *Eloquence*; he had been flatter'd,

flatter'd, and flatter'd himself, that his Talent of this Kind was extraordinary: He talk'd much, and he lov'd to talk; and it was his Custom, when they met together, to declaim strongly, but particularly in his own Praise. About this time he thought fit to summon them; they conven'd accordingly, and in a private Room in the remote Parts of his House, the Doors being shut, he harangued them in these, or in the like words.

“ IF the Courage, the Conduct,
 “ the Honour, the Fidelity, or the
 “ Zeal of any one of us to the o-
 “ ther were not well known, and
 “ often try'd and approv'd; if they
 “ were liable to the least Suspicion,
 “ the glorious Opportunities we have
 “ of possessing, and enjoying the Wealth
 “ of those from whose Tyranny and
 “ Injustice we now defend our selves
 “ by our Arms, must be immediately
 “ snatch'd out of our Hands; and
 “ we

“we should be deliver’d up to the
 “Chastisement of him whom our Ene-
 “mies have the Assurance to call *The*
 “*Civil Magistrate*.

“Instead of this, we have the Sa-
 “tisfaction to meet one another this
 “Day in Peace and in Safety, to
 “taste the mutual Joy and Delight
 “which every Man receives who be-
 “holds his faithful Ally and Compa-
 “nion, united to him by the same
 “Ties of Interest and Necessity: for
 “to have the same Inclinations, and
 “the same Aversions, is the great
 “Bond of Unity, and the very Foun-
 “dation of mutual Benevolence and
 “Friendship.

“WHEN therefore I behold you
 “thus together, my Heart is lifted
 “with uncommon Joy, when I con-
 “sider the Hardships you have un-
 “dergone, the Battles you have
 “fought, the Blood you have spilt,
 “the Fatigues you have suffer’d, and
 “the

" the continual Perils to which your
 " Lives and your Fortunes are now
 " and at all times exposed for the
 " Good of the Community. I look
 " upon you as an illustrious Band of
 " Heroes, who have by your own
 " Virtue deliver'd your selves from
 " Slavery and Oppression, who have
 " gloriously recurr'd to your Right
 " in the Laws of Nature, have sha-
 " ken off the Yoke which burthen'd
 " you, and sought your Liberty in
 " Arms and Policy.

" We are in full Possession of al-
 " most every thing we have to wish,
 " an uninterrupted Course of Victory
 " hath attended our Arms; whatever
 " Orders or Injunctions, or Decrees
 " we please to make, are heartily
 " and unanimously obey'd. We collect
 " Money from whom, and when,
 " and where we please; we are sub-
 " ject to no Authority or Laws but
 " what we make our selves. In a
 " word, we are the Terror of our
 " Ene-

“ Enemies; and the Support and Comfort
 “ of our Friends.

“ AND I affirm, Gentlemen, since
 “ I have been intrusted with your
 “ Cash, no one Shilling, I repeat
 “ it, not a Shilling has been em-
 “ bezzled, or squander'd or laid out,
 “ but in the Service of the Com-
 “ munity: I declare you could no
 “ where have found a Cashier so know-
 “ ing in Accounts, or so faithful and
 “ thrifty a Manager; and I challenge
 “ all Mankind to say the contrary;
 “ I defy the little invidious Scandal
 “ and dirty Aspersions which have
 “ been thrown, as if I had broke
 “ open the Iron-Chest, and squan-
 “ dred the Money my Friends have
 “ intrusted me with: but this Scan-
 “ dal is to be despised, as it takes
 “ its Source from yours and my Ene-
 “ mies.

“ I DO not at all question, but by
 “ my Courage and Conduct, I shall
 “ live

“ live to see you a flourishing Soci-
 “ ety ; we have many and rich Friends
 “ in yon regular Community, they
 “ come over to our Principles daily ;
 “ and no doubt, they will one Day
 “ enlist their Names in our Rolls :
 “ Who knows to what an Height
 “ you may arise ? Our Enemies, they
 “ who talk so precisely of Right and
 “ Wrong, argue in a most ridiculous
 “ manner about unalterable Right and
 “ Property : Surely the *Macedonian*
 “ Youth had no more Right to the
 “ Dominions of *Darius*, than I had
 “ to the Purse and Periwig of old
 “ *Civicus*. And we have most unde-
 “ niably as good a Title to levy Mo-
 “ ney upon those who travel the
 “ Road, as *Cæsar* had to levy Mo-
 “ ney, without the Authority of the
 “ Senate, upon his Fellow - Subjects :
 “ but were it otherwise, we are not
 “ here to dispute about the Legality
 “ of our Profession ; no, let us leave
 “ that to our Enemies : if we should
 “ ever unhappily fall into their Power,

“ I fear we have little Mercy to ex-
 “ pect. Let us then unite as one Man,
 “ and let no Man boggle at coming
 “ thorowly into whatever the Interest
 “ or the Necessity of our Affairs shall
 “ require. What you have often wish’d
 “ you enjoy, Wealth, Honour, Glory,
 “ the Reward of happy Victors: But
 “ as the Thoughts of securing these
 “ Blessings to you, and yours, must
 “ more forcibly stimulate you to the
 “ Care of preserving them than any
 “ thing I can say; I shall conclude on-
 “ ly with reminding you, that Wealth
 “ is to be preferr’d to Poverty, and
 “ Liberty to Servitude.

THE Assembly now broke up, ex-
 tremely pleas’d with the Captain’s De-
 clamation, and much comforted that
 they had so good and so Praise-wor-
 thy a Cause. One does not know
 how to account for it, but there is
 something in the Captain’s averring and
 confident Air, that while he is speak-
 ing, does to some People of slow
 Parts

Parts look like Sincerity and Truth, two Qualities that he is too much a Politician ever to suffer by. But as there is in the Mind of every Man conscious of great Crimes, an Instability and Fear, that works thro' all the affected Jollity and Ease of the most tranquil Heart, a guilty Flush will now and then dart into his Features, and discover that all is not quiet within. I have observ'd the Captain, when he has caught a Man's Eye upon him, whom he suspected to be his Enemy, turn pale and shake, and immediately all the Muscles in his Face have confess'd every thing he could be accus'd of; so unquiet a Companion is a bad Mind.



CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

THE Captain was now perfectly pleas'd with himself, and satisfy'd in his Abilities, he rais'd his Crest; he plumed himself in the Fulness of his Power and Sun-shine; he would compare himself by Turns to the greatest Generals: Now he was *Hannibal*, now *Scipio*, or *Fabius*. And when he would number himself among those who were fam'd in civil Polity, and the Arts of Government, he was *Ulysses*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Cicero*, *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*: but above all, the Visions that vapour'd his Brain, his most delighting Dream was, that there was an exact Similitude between him and Cardinal *Richlieu*, for the Name of *Mazarine* he held in Contempt. How so unproportion'd [an Idea could seize his Head, I know not; but *Bob Brazen*, an old Servant of the Captain's,

tain's, and one who when he pleas'd, would take Liberties, as being in the Depth of his Secrets; when the Captain was one Day vaunting thus, and drawing the Parallel between himself and *Richlieu*. Noble Captain, said he, you are quite out here, you shall give me leave to set you right; and when I have shewn you the Pourtraits of these two Ministers, *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, perhaps, if you lay your Hand upon your Heart, you may confess you have no Likeness either to the one or the other; or if you have any Resemblance, it must be to *Mazarine*. Take an Ebauche of them then as follows.

JULIUS MAZARINE was First Minister in France, and succeeded *Richlieu*; he went successfully thro' many and great Affairs, but with a little and mean Genius for Government. *Richlieu* had a large and extensive Genius; but as he was not thorowly confided in by the King his Master,

Master, he found all Business more
 embarrass'd in the Cabinet, than if
 he had been to direct in the Weak-
 ness and Confusion of a Minority;
 Mazarine acted without Controul, and
 the Councils in which he presided
 were uniform and firm. Richlieu's
 Prince would neither govern, nor be
 govern'd, and he was forc'd to serve
 him in spite of himself, and at the
 Hazard of his Life: Mazarine was
 industrious and insinuating, and knew
 how to draw People into his Par-
 ty by their Interest, and insolently
 used to say, No Man ought to be e-
 steemed a good Frenchman who did
 not receive his Wages. Mazarine got
 the better of his Enemies by Arti-
 fice and Stratagem, Richlieu, by open
 Force. Richlieu supported his Mas-
 ter's Character with Courage and
 Dignity, Mazarine govern'd, but not
 with Dignity; and those who were
 in his Pension had rather the Air
 of well-fed Servants, than of Gen-
 tlemen. Richlieu, it is true, was
 haughty,

haughty, was imperious; but in every thing he discover'd an extensive, a great, and an exalted Spirit. Mazarine was fam'd for Finesse and Avarice; he had the Art of corrupting the Manners of the People, till at last he render'd the French Faith ridiculous to a Proverb; he sunk their Courage, lessen'd their Honour and Credit, threw all into Confusion, and render'd the Royal Favours wholly Venal. There was nothing he really dreaded so much as Merit, and no body durst pretend to any Share in his Interest or Favour, who could not produce well-attested Memorials that they had Minds sufficiently debased to his Purposes, supple and capable of being instrumental in executing the vilest Projects: And as he had but little true Knowledge of Mankind, he always believ'd the worst of them; Honour, Integrity of Heart, and Purity of Manners, he look'd on only as a Poetical Fiction: He had indeed occasion for none, and had

none about him but busy artful Creatures, who could deceive, betray, project, and make Money of every thing: By these Means his Name became odious and detestable among the People; and yet this Lowness and Narrowness of his Mind display'd it self in nothing more, than in that hearty Contempt which he always discover'd for all the liberal Arts and Sciences, as if they could not possibly have been of any Use to any Government. Richlieu lov'd Letters, and Men of Letters; and as he was learned himself, he lov'd to encourage Learning, and took every Occasion to excite an Emulation in the learned World. Mazarine had no real Regard for any thing, neither the Church, nor Letters, nor Arts, nor Arms, nor Virtue of any Kind; therefore it is not to be wonder'd, that a general Odium, both of great and little, rose at once against him. Mazarine affected the Character of a cunning Minister, whereas true Wisdom

gives

gives Success always to open and honest Measures, not to those conducted by little Artifices of Trick and Fraud. 'Tis a Sign of Weakness, and want of Capacity and Knowledge of the direct and broad Road, when a Politician thus gropes out a way thro' blind Lanes and Alleys.

THESE are, noble Captain, said Bob, the true Characters, as I have collated them, of these two Ministers; tho I really think it is Presumption in you to pretend to rise even to that of *Mazarine*, low as I have given it: you forget you are only a common Robber; you forget your self and us too. Thus far *Bob Brazen* ventur'd to chastise his Master, who shook his Sides with a hearty Laugh, took all in good part, and went out to give his Orders with his usual Frankness and Sincerity.

NOW the Night and Business came on, and the several Parties dispersed

and divided for the Road ; some made Incursions on the Country , others were posted in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* ; they kept a strict and regular Correspondence, and as the Persons attack'd were generally fewer in Number than their Attackers, they commonly carry'd off much Booty. It must be confess'd by all who have had the Honour to be robb'd by them, that they collected in a very Gentleman-like manner ; and when they were treated sometimes unseasonably and passionately with rough Language , they smiled only and rifled on, and minded Business : Nor were they ever known to come into any Acts of Inhumanity and Violence. But as frequent Robberies were now committed, and in the very Streets of *London*, some few of the Justices of the Peace issued out their Search-Warrants, the Alarm seem'd to be taken, and yet no Discoveries were made, or at least not of any who belong'd to the Captain's Confederacy ;

deracy: But among the Magistrates who most busy'd themselves, and labour'd most heartily to break this illegal Knot of Outlaws, who prey'd upon the Commonwealth, was *Probus*; *Probus*, an antient Magistrate of the City, and an Alderman above the Chair, an honest true-hearted Independent Whig; he was often seen to march himself at the Head of his venerable Patrole of Watchmen, a veteran honest Band, to try at least if he could have the Honour and Happiness of attaching any of this audacious Fraternity; but alas his Endeavours were never favour'd with Success: And what was very odd, several of his Brethren whose Assistance he desir'd, in order to make such an Inquiry as the Law commanded after these Plunderers of the Publick, told him that he was really too busy; that as for People of bad Characters, there were such perhaps, and always were, and must be such under the best regulated Police; but that the extraordinary
Noise

Noise and Clamour he now raised, was only the Effect of Whim, ill Humour, Spleen, or an officious Vanity of appearing more diligent or more honest than his Neighbours; that he might remember the various and unaccountable Stories of the *Wild Irish*; and but a few Years were pass'd since the *Mohocks* put every thing into Confusion, when the whole Town was alarm'd, and in bodily Fear about the wild Frolicks of two or three drunken Rakes: they advis'd him to go home and to sleep quietly in his Bed, without disturbing his own or his Neighbour's Repose concerning the Welfare of the Publick: They assur'd him, that the Constables and Watchmen knew their Duty very well, and they were satisfy'd nothing could happen amiss; and that if he went on thus continually to cry *Thieves*, they should look upon him as a *Malecontent*, not at all satisfy'd with the Government of the City, as a Disturber of the publick Tranquillity: And in a word, that

that they would take care he should be left out of the next Commission of the Peace.

THIS odd Treatment of the old Gentleman alarm'd him extremely ; but at the same time it warm'd him, and he reply'd, " That frequent Complaints of Robberies committed had been made to him upon Oath ; that he believ'd the City was never more infested with these sort of Pirates than now ; that there was most certainly a Confederacy of Men who lived upon Plunder, and that one *Mackbeath* was generally reputed to be their Captain ; that he thought it a Matter of great Concern to the City, and therefore he had exerted himself in his Province as he was authoris'd to do by Law ; nor did he conceive that he was impertinently busy : And if the Alarms of the *Wild Irish* and the *Mobocks* were without any Foundation, he thought they ought not to be Precedents for Supineness or Negligence, and serve

" only

“ only to lull them asleep when the
 “ Danger was real, lest they should a-
 “ wake when it was too late ; that he
 “ was alarm’d not only for the publick
 “ Safety, but his own ; that he had
 “ much to lose ; and altho he was very
 “ well content to part with the *last Shil-*
 “ *ling* in the Defense of the Laws of
 “ his Country, and for the Benefit of
 “ the Society, yet he could never con-
 “ sent that any Man should set up a
 “ Right to take a single Shilling out of
 “ his Pocket forcibly ; and which pub-
 “ lick Robbers might pretend a Prescrip-
 “ tion to do, if they were permitted
 “ to go on thus with Impunity ; they
 “ will soon, said he, mistake this In-
 “ dolence of yours for Indulgence, and
 “ plead Custom to their Crimes. That
 “ as to the invidious Name of *Male-*
 “ *content*, with which they were plea-
 “ sed to honour him, he despised the
 “ Character, as he was very conscious
 “ he never found fault but when he had
 “ reason so to do : and as to leaving
 “ him out of the Commission of the
 “ Peace.

“ Peace, perhaps, Gentlemen, said he,
 “ that may not be in your Power; but
 “ if it is, I shall still have a Right to
 “ talk, and to complain too, when I
 “ find my self agriev’d, both as a Ci-
 “ tizen and an *Englishman*.”

HOWEVER it was, this cooled
 the Hunt a little, and the Captain
 still pursued his old Measures: As
 we shall shew in the following
 Chapter.



G CHAP.

C H A P. V.

HITHERTO we have shewn the Captain in the Fulness of his Joy, in the Shine of his happier Hours; when he appear'd jocund and gay at the Head of a strong and a well-arm'd Party; when his Foes look'd little in his Eyes, and his Companions exulted with him in his Prosperity. It is most certain, never any Man swallow'd popular Applause more greedily than the Captain: Yet tho he had generally a sort of hoity-toity Joy about him, that seem'd to keep him buoyant, even amidst the greatest Iniquities he hourly committed; a nearer View might discover a secret Horror and Cloud that clung around his Heart, and check'd him in the loudest Laugh. Nor is it at all astonishing, when we consider how many and what dangerous Enterprizes he every Day undertook.

took. The Attack, or seizing of the Booty, was not less dangerous than the disposing it after it was taken; and as the richest of the Plunder could not be sold here, he was oblig'd to send it to *France, Holland, Germany*, and many Parts beyond the Seas, where he always found People who dealt this way; but who always made him bad Returns, and to whom he was a constant Bubble: Tho among all his Correspondents, no one used the Captain so ill as Monsieur *Trapanté*, a *French Merchant*, so he styled himself; but he was in reality, only a famous Receiver of stolen Goods: To this Man the Captain consigned Gold Watches, Diamond Rings, Medals, and whatever other Remarkables fell into his Hands, and were judged by no means proper or safe to be exposed to Sale at home. But *Trapanté*, the most cunning and fallacious Man that ever took up the Mystery of Pawnbroking, never made him any Returns: And when he expostulated this Matter with him, Mon-

fleur invented many frivolous and idle Pretences to defraud him. Sometimes he wrote him word that he had been at great Expences in Hush-Money; that he was under Apprehensions of being impeach'd by a *Spanish* Merchant, to whom he had consign'd some Diamonds, which were discover'd by a Jew at *Madrid* to have been the Property of a Man of Quality in *England*: At other Times he had Bills drawn upon him from *Vienna*, with Letters of Advice and Threats, and which he durst not refuse accepting, for fear of being impleaded. And when the Captain in these untoward Circumstances sometimes grew peevish, and remonstrated to the *Frenchman* with some Acrimony, the unjust and ungentleman-like Treatment he receiv'd, and threaten'd never to employ him again as his Factor; the saucy *Frenchman* always took him short with Menaces to come over, and to turn Evidence against him: He told him, he was sure of Pardon and Protection; and he should, if he continued to use him in this manner,

manner, begin to consider coolly both what his Interest and his Duty prompted him to, and drop the foolish personal Inclination that he had for him. In this Affair, I have heard his Companions say, the Captain was inexcusable, for that long before he dealt with the *Frenchman*, he was not ignorant of his Character, nor in what manner he had ruin'd several unhappy Gentlemen in this way before, and would most certainly betray him, as soon as ever he refus'd to feed his Avarice. Nor had the Captain much better Usage at Home, the watchful Cares, the anxious Fears, and the continual Disturbance and Hurry in which he liv'd, made his Post not to be envied by the lowest in his Confederacy. Those under his Direction were never satisfy'd, and it was observable, when he was, and he frequently was, partial in the Distribution of the Booty; the Person whom he thus favour'd, was always the very first who mutiny'd. So natural is it for Men of servile

wile Minds, to impute every thing they receive, rather to their own Merit than the Bounty of a Master.

THUS you see he had the Humours of Mankind, as well as their Necessities to administer to; and the first were as difficult to be govern'd as the last.

SOMETIMES his People would pretend Conscience, and the great Uneasiness they were under to continue in that way of Life: At other times they told him flatly, that it was better at once to dye, than to hang thus hourly in constant Anxieties and Fears. But whenever these penitent or anxious Brows appear'd before him, he had a certain and an infallible Remedy; he took them aside one by one into a private Apartment, mutter'd a few words, smiled and squeezed them by the Hand; and immediately after this, all-Despondence, and conscientious Qualms,

Qualms, and Murmurings, and Jealousies vanish'd away; and the Captain was declar'd a Gentleman of the first Capacity, and the greatest Honour of any in *Europe*.

THESE I have mention'd, were but a few of the Difficulties that besieg'd the Captain daily; so dearly did he pay for being at the Head of this unlawful League: And I have heard, that he has often confess'd to an Intimate, that he lamented his Situation; and if the Danger of descending was not apparently greater than continuing where he was, he should with Joy change for the meanest Condition of the poorest Labourer in the Commonwealth; tho at the same time when he talk'd to the Confederacy, he profess'd to live and dye with them, and declar'd he had very little Regard to what any vulgar Wretches should write or talk concerning him.

MAN.

MANKIND hunt Happiness, and pursue it thro' Paths where they are sure never to overtake it, and are very often oblig'd to return in Search of it to the very Spot where they first set out.

YET notwithstanding the Captain was now and then punish'd with a Qualm of this Kind; when his Spirits return'd, when his Companions surrounded him, when the Business of the Day provok'd him, or some new Prize was set in view, he always return'd cheerfully to his Iniquity.

IT is very surprizing, that the Captain, who has now been an old Offender, should never have been capitally convicted. The first Offence, as I remember, for which he was publicly question'd, was a Depredation committed in *Scotland* upon some Farmers,

Farmers ; who having sold their Hay and Corn at *Edinburgh*, were returning home : the Captain was accused, and must have been convicted, but for the Evidence of his faithful Servant *Bob Brazen*, whom I have mentioned before. *Bob* swore the Captain was in another Place when that Fact was committed ; and that he had no Knowledge of the Fact, or any Share in the Spoil : and when this Testimony seem'd not to have its full Weight with the Jury, *Bob* took the Crime upon himself, and swore he committed it singly and alone ; and what is yet more surprising, *Bob* was never question'd for this afterwards. This Service the Captain has upon all Occasions, and does, as I am inform'd, to this Hour acknowledge : And indeed this was a particular Mark of Friendship, and such as is not often to be met with in this degenerate Age.

IT would be an endless and a trifling Labour to recount the Particulars of every Affair that the Captain has been engag'd in from time to time: Some were gallant, some were rash, some dangerous, and others only gainful or whimsical: His manner of stealing the several Quart and Pint Pots out of every Publick House in a large Market-Town, and obliging the Inhabitants to pay a Penny a-piece for every Pot before they were deliver'd, was for some time the Subject of Mirth; as was likewise the odd Method he took to levy Contributions upon a whole Fleet of Colliers at *Newcastle*.

SOME People were mightily pleased likewise with the Disappointment he met with, in the Execution of a rash and irregular Scheme he had form'd,

form'd, to attack a Parcel of brave and generous Seamen, who he had wrong Information were such a Day to receive their Pay; but *Jack-Tar* was so well prepar'd to meet him, and stood so resolutely to his Arms, that the Captain was oblig'd to drop the Project, and leave him in quiet Possession of his Property.

SOON after this, he was grown so daring by Impunity, that it became dangerous to walk the Streets of *London* after it was dark, so frequent and so open were the Robberies; when his Majesty, by his most gracious Proclamation, at once dissipated the several Gangs, and the Fears of his People.



CONCLUSION.

I HAVE gone thro' as many Circumstances concerning the Life and Manners of Captain *Mackbeath* as have occur'd to me; and, I hope, no body will from the Title of this little Tract, expect to be let into the more minute Particulars of his Life and Conversation; I have only endeavour'd as strongly as I could to mark the Character of this Man's Mind, and to shew my Readers by this Example, that the direct Paths to Happiness are Integrity and Content, however Mankind are led astray in the Search of it, among the Glare of Wealth and imaginary Dignities.

I KNOW it is a very difficult, a very invidious, and a dangerous Task, to write the Actions of evil
Men

Men while they yet live, however true, or just, or impartial such Writings may be: But as I thought this Endeavour of mine might not be wholly unuseful to the Publick, I resolv'd to do my Duty as a good Citizen; and at the same time, I confess by my present Joy at concluding this little Book, that I did not resist the Temptations of my Vanity as a frail Man.

AS I profess'd in the Beginning of these Memoirs, to conduct my self impartially, I hope the Captain will acquit me as to that Part of the Performance: What remains is, to exhort him, which I do in the most hearty and patherick manner, not to go on still to behold himself in a false and a flattering Mirrour, and to glorify himself in the Glare of those Rays which his Prosperity only hath thrown

thrown around him; the Desolation and Ravages he daily commits are recorded and laid up against him, and Punishment surely, tho' slowly, stalks behind him: he must be equally blind and vain to imagine that his Flatterers, now his little Minions, will attend and dance around him in his adverse Hours. Can he who never loved or trusted any Man, but as he was useful to him, indulge himself in the fond Belief that he is belov'd or trusted by any Man; but for the Convenience such a Parasite finds in his Favour? or can he expect Integrity or Gratitude in a Creature, whose whole Merit and Recommendation to his Service must be the Want of those very Qualities? The same Necessity that introduced him into his Service, will shew him the way out of it; he must expect therefore when the evil Hour shall come, to see himself totally abandon'd: these

Flies

Flies of the Sunshine are not to be found in the Winter of Adversity; let him then look upon me as the only faithful and unbiass'd Friend he hath. I have rung out the Alarm-Bell, and warn'd him while the Day yet is, to repent of his evil Ways; I hope well he will receive the Benefit I intended him from these Memoirs. If this shall happen, I shall have the great Reward my Vanity propos'd. But should the Captain neglect or despise these my Admonitions, I desire him only to be so good to himself to repeat what the wisest Man hath said, "*He that being often reprov'd hardneth his Neck, shall suddenly be destroy'd, and that without Remedy.*"

F I N I S.

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found in the Winter of Adversity; let
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faithful and unyielding Friend he hath.
I have rung out the Alarm-Bell, and
warn'd him while the Day yet is, to
repent of his evil Ways; I hope well
he will receive the Benefit I intended
him from this Memorial. If this shall
happen, I shall have the great Reward
my Vanity propos'd. But should the
Captain neglect or despise these my Ad-
monitions, I shall only to be so
good to inform him what the
which Men of War should be that de-
"ing often to be near his Neck,
"shall find it so, and that
"without Remedy."



